7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

of the Westerns and the Mizwli as groups. The Westerns are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134–35). According to Cave Group informants, they, or other Marounites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Cave Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mizwli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mizwli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Cave Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mizwli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by *group avoidance* or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

the following: accountants, college teachers and upper administrative officers, dentists, engineers, lawyers, nurses, newspaper publishers, editorial writers, reporters, surveyors, clergymen and school teachers. The range of income of these groups was large as was the amount of training undergone.

Managers, officials, large businessmen and rentiers

There was considerable difficulty in forming this category, but in general it is meant to include an upper-class group which has general power and influence in the city, either from high-ranking official position or because of position in the business world. It formed the largest group, other than miscellaneous, with almost twelve percent of the total sample. Of these, almost half were large merchants as might be expected in a city which depends on commerce for its existence. This is a much larger group of this type than would be found in most cities.

One reason for the size of this category is that Beirut is a capital city and therefore would have an inordinate amount of public officials. Another reason is that the attractions of a metropolis lure people of wealth.

Small businessmen

Almost equally as large as the managers etc., category, is the group of small businessmen. The largest percentage of these are small retail owners. As a group, they represent marginal enterprises which fill small niches in the economy. They are very often such small ope-

12: Churchill 8-5 (1962) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

463 rations that western entrepreneurs of similar
443 class status would be appalled. A small grocery store, for example, might have a stock not worth more than one thousand Lebanese pounds. It would consist of items turning over rapidly, such as cigarettes, which would be in good supply, and probably some canned goods which present a sales turnover of once a year. There would be no breadth to the inventory. Indeed, one of the commonest replies in these stores, and even in much larger ones, is that they will get an item requested later that day, or tomorrow, or next week.

Or a shoemaker and repair man may have a shop two meters by five meters in which he operates by daily purchases of leather or purchases to meet yesterday's demand, so that there is no inventory whatsoever other than a little equipment.

Other small entrepreneurs make their livings variously in such business as small restaurants. These are mainly coffee houses for gossip and the accompanying group interactions.

Clerical

463 Under the heading of clerical, we included bookkeepers, agents usually representing foreign firms, messengers, secretaries, (a term locally used to include both stenographers and secretaries in the western sense) and telephone operators. They constitute slightly over six percent of the sample, which is remarkably small for a city.

Sales and kindred occupations

463 The next category, sales and kindred oc-
441 cupations, was subdivided into commission agents, peddlers, and salesmen. The peddlers are a particularly large group. They are typically small in their operations, hawking vegetables, fruit, soft drinks, and miscellaneous gadgets through the streets of the town. They, perhaps, should have been included among the small businessmen, but it was felt that even with the minute size of many businesses, the peddlers

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